

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-10

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AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T LOME 2090

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2  
TAGS: PEPR, PINT, GH, TO  
SUBJECT: GHANAIAN AMBASSADOR ON TOGOLESE-GHAIAN RELATIONS

1. I SAW GHANAIAN AMBASSADOR FORJOE AT AIRPORT DEPARTURE CEREMONY RECENTLY AND I ASKED HIM WHAT WAS GOING ON IN GHANA. HE BEGAN A LONG DISCOURSE ON THE INEPTNESS OF ACHEAMPONG REGIME, PARTICULARLY ITS CARELESS APPROACH TO UNION GOVERNMENT REFERENDUM. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT THE DESIRED RESULT COULD HAVE BEEN DECREED BY ACHAEMPONG REGIME BUT REGIME'S FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND DEPTHS OF POPULAR ALIENATION AND ITS FECKLESS ATTEMPT AT LAST MINUTE TO RIG ELECTION RESULTS REFLECTED SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN GOVERNANCE. FORJOE ASKED ME TO COME AND SEE HIM TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION.

2. I DID SO AND FORJOE SPENT INITIAL 45 MINUTES DISCUSSING HIS RELATIONSHIPS WITH NKRUMAH IN PERIOD 1963-65 WHEN  
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AMBASSADOR WAS HEAD OF SPECIUL BRANCH. FORJOE SAID THAT HE HAD ATTEMPTED TO PROVIDE GOOD COUNSEL TO NKRUMAH, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO EXISTENCE OF GROUP WITHIN PRESIDENTIAL HANGERS-ON WHO WERE ENRICHING THEMSELVES AT PUBLIC EXPENSE AND SULLYING NKRUMAH'S REPUTATION. FORJOE SAID THAT HE TOOK THIS EFFORT TO THE POINT WHERE HE WAS EVENTUALLY FORCED TO RESIGN BECAUSE NKRUMAH WAS RELUCTANT TO TAKE MEASURES WHICH

WOULD HAVE DONE MUCH TO EITHER SAVE OR IMPROVE HIS REPUTATION.

3. AMBASSADOR WENT ON TO SAY THAT FOLLOWING FALL OF NKRUMAH HIS OWN REPUTATION STAYED FUNDMENTALLY INTACT AND THROUGH THE NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL AND BUSIA REGIMES HE HEADED THE PASSPORT OFFICE AND WAS AWAY FROM MAINSTREAM POLITICS. WHEN ACHAEMPONG REGIME CAME TO POWER, FORJOE WAS MADE AMBASSADOR TO TOGO AND SAYS HE HAS DEVOTED PERIOD 1973-78 TO ATTEMPTING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES.

4. HOWEVER, FORJOE SAYS A BASIC PROBLEM IS THAT ACHEAMPONG, WHO HE SAYS HAS ONLY AVERAGE INTELLIGENCE, DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENT EYADEMA IS "SINCERE." REFERRING TO TOGOLAND ISSUE, FORJOE SAID THAT AT 1974 ACHAEMPONG-EYADEMA MEETING AT HO IN GHANA EYADEMA TOLD ACHAEMPONG THAT HE IS A NORTHERNER IN A COUNTRY WHERE THE SOUTHERNERS THINK THEY ARE SMARTER AND RESENT HIM, THAT HE HAD NO URGENT DESIRE TO PURSUE THE QUESTION OF AN EXPANSION OF TOGO TO INCLUDE THE EX-BRITISH TOGOLAND. EYADEMA DID SAY, HOWEVER, THAT WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS SOME FORM OF INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION THAT WOULD MAKE AN APPROPRIATE STUDY AND ACHIEVE A CONCLUSION THAT COULD BE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AND THAT WOULD ENABLE THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM TO BE DEALT WITH ONCE AND FOR ALL. FORJOE SAID ACHAEMPONG HAD NOT ACCEPTED THE EYADEMA IDEA AND THROUGH THE YEARS HAD BECOME INCREASINGLY INSISTENT ON THE "INSINCERITY" SECRET

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OF EYADEMA ON THE TOGOLAND ISSUE. IN THIS CONTEXT AT ONE POINT IN THE DISCUSSION AMBASSADOR FORJOE SAID THAT ACHAEMPONG HAD ONCE REMARKED TO HIM THAT IN VIEW OF TOGO'S PERSISTENCE ON THE TOGOLAND QUESTION THAT "WE WOULD BLOW THEM UP."

5. I ASKED WHETHER THE IMPLICATION THAT I SHOULD DRAW FROM HIS REMARKS WAS THAT ACHAEMPONG WAS GETTING BAD ADVICE. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT THIS APPEARED TO BE THE CASE. HE SAID THAT GHANA'S REAL INTEREST WAS IN NOT HAVING INFLAMED OR EXACERBATED RELATIONS WITH TOGO. RATHER, THE FUNDAMENTAL THRUST OF GHANA'S CONNECTION WITH TOGO SHOULD BE TO WORK WITHIN THE ECOWAS CONCEPT AND PARTICULARLY TO HELP BE A BRIDGE BETWEEN FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLOPHONE COUNTRIES. MOREOVER, THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT NEITHER INSECURITY NOR DISORDER IN TOGO WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO GHANA, PARTICULARLY IF THE TOGOLESE CHIEF OF STATE WERE ASSASSINATED.

6. I ASKED FORJOE IF HE WOULD NOT TURN THAT SAME ANALYSIS TO THE SITUATION IN GHANA. I ASKED RHETORICALLY IN WHOSE INTEREST IT WOULD BE THAT DISORDER, CONFUSION, CORRUPTION AND ALL THE REST WOULD REIGN IN GHANA. FORKOE SAID IT WAS CERTAINLY NOT IN THE INTEREST OF THE ACHAEMPONG REGIME NOR

OF THE GHANIAN PEOPLE. HE SAID THAT ONE MIGHT NEED TO LOOK TO OUTSIDE INTERESTS WHO WERE ALREADY WORKING, THROUGH THE INTRODUCTION OF COMMUNIST ARMS AND ADVISORS INCLUDING LARGE NUMBERS OF CUBANS, IN BENIN. I NOTED THAT A ZONE OF CONFUSION AND POLITICAL DISORDER WHICH WOULD GO FROM THE BORDER OF IVORY COAST TO NORTHERN NIGERIA WOULD CREATE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS.

7. I HAD A COPY WITH ME OF THE 19 APRIL JEUNE AFRIQUE ISSUE WHICH FRONT-PAGES THE STORY OF ABORTED MERCENARY RAID ON TOGO. THE ARTICLE MAKES SEVERAL REFERENCES TO GHANA AND I ASKED HIM WHAT HE THOUGHT ABOUT THAT. HE SAID ANY ASSOCIATION ON THE PART OF GHANA WITH MERCENARY ACTIVITIES AIMED AGAINST TOGO WOULD BE "STUPID," BUT HE DID NOT DENY THE SECRET

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THESIS OF THE ARTICLE THAT THERE APPEARED TO BE GHANAIAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE ABORTED MERCENARY PLOT.

8. COMMENT: FORJOE IS MAKING SIMILAR STATEMENTS TO OTHER AMBASSADORS. HE IS A HIGHLY PRINCIPLED MAN AND RESPECTED BY THE TOGOLESE DESPITE THE LOCAL CLIMATE OF SUSPICION TOWARD GHANA AND GHANAIAI INTENTIONS. PALMER

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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